

&\auto.wriconf.1
13 December 1988

3rd
my production; whole...
206,000
NYT leads

After Princeton: April 1968
(earlier: started psychoanalysis)
riots over MLK death, Washington burning.

Work for RFK.; but not full time in office (Forrestal)

Columbia sit-in

Seminar at Harvard, HAK; talk to HAK about Rockefeller

Talk to Gavin's man, Romney's man

Humphrey luncheon (Huntington, Brzezinski) (comments on Columbia sit-in, which Hayden had attended)

No More Vietnams? Humphrey and me; Chicago Conference;
RFK killed. (Susan Bellow)

On Kupcinet Show: denunciation of bombing (see POW)

.RFK funeral: acid

Chicago riots; acid. (LBJ can't come; Humphrey nominated; McC passive)

Humphrey can't call for stopping bombing (what if war isn't over: what if DRV attacks?)

invasion of Czechoslovakia; Paris, Mexico uprisings.

N claims secret plan to end the war.

I swing.

Review of HK: Can we win in VN?

My exchange with Gass: starting with my explanation--thanks to Vann--of why NLF hadn't won by mid-68 (why war wasn't over: as Sheehan thinks, still--and perhaps Berman does, too--, and Vann was denying)

I'm reading King, Gandhi, Sharp, bondurant: while nonviolent resistance in Prague.

LBJ stops bombing; I stop swinging and take an interest in election.

Thieu refuses to come to Paris; N wins.
(October surprise: or lack of it. Thanks to Allen...and Vann?)

HAK seminar at RAND: I learned more from DE in Vn...

HAK asks for options study; I work with Gelb and MHH, Cook...

Christmas Day; take options to Hotel Pierre.

Day after Christmas: breakfast with HAK, suggest Questions (NSSM-1); discussion of options with HAK and Schelling. Rewrite (add threats; not, win strategy)

1969

Spring: everyone thought war was over.
(see auto\Ohio.69)

Work on NSSM-1 while Ikle redrafts final version: leaves out Extrication (Goodpaster). A to Z": but not nuclears.

NSSM-summary, with Winston Lord. Propose new NSSMs (rejected).

Work on D's, from my notes: I to IX, on VNese politics, based partly on talks with Vu Van Thai (who had said during Tet, "no more lesser evils!) and Hoang Van Chi; and on "Could we have won in Vietnam? When was it too late?"

Word from MHH: first proposal was my favorite, mutual withdrawal (at first NSC meeting, January). "FOR THE FIRST TIME, I'm SATISFIED WITH OUR VIETNAM POLICY."

Quiet on campuses (see comments on Ohio class)

Ohio class: "Do we have the right?"

May? Pat comes out (having consulted me on acid in December?); we go to Point Lobos; then to Malibu, Elysium...

HAK proposal of WH consultantship. But I don't want to staff war, only to press for withdrawal (see my initial ambivalence about options study; don't answer

(reading Noam Chomsky?) meet?

On recommendation of Adam Walinsky, Sam Brown invites me to join staffing of Moratorium: I decline, wait to see if it looks significant.

Vann says Chau in trouble; urges me to come out. I apply; vetoes by Jacobson, Colby.

instead, I go to WRI Triennial.

WRI Triennial, August 25-31, 1969

Let's say: I saw MHH just before conference (either that or Friday, after conference; I think it must have been before; so I had PP? Unless I picked it up on Friday at RAND, to come back. Possible, since I doubt if I came back from Philadelphia)

It's Option C.

Refers to options study; my status as potential consultant; but I only wanted out. If not Extrication by RMN, then by me.

WRI Conference

Who was there

My reading: (no...earlier...)

King and Parks: his earlier reading of Gandhi; issue of absolute pacifism (Robert says that Sharp feels strongly that nonviolence will never get serious attention so long as it is associated with absolute pacifism and an essentially religious commitment, a necessity for a religious conversion, rather than being seen as instrumental, a practical alternative to violent methods).

(Robert also says that in the mid-70's there was a split between Vinoba Bhave, Gandhi's "perfect disciple," who thought social change would come only from personal conversion, and who stressed entirely the constructive program and spiritual aspects, and J.P. Narayan, who, having had a conversion from a Marxist commitment--he had opposed Gandhi as a Socialist and had been imprisoned, and escaped, for sabotage during the war--believed in organized, nonviolent resistance). Janaki speaks of a controversy in the '60's about "passive" nonviolence versus 'militant' (confrontational?)

(Deming, as I recall, impressed me with the power of noncollaboration: in the spirit of Etienne de la Boetie...)

Point of King (find): Niebuhr worries;

16th cent. Voluntary Servitude

Bob Eaton: night before sentencing, beer party, politics.

"I'm an organizer;" (Where is he now?)

Vigil: should I go? Not since April 27, 1965...(No: November 1967! No others?)

I join hands; stand in line; pass out handbills.

(Like: Letter to the new York Times; vs. classified letter to CINCSAC.)

speakers for Eaton

Discussion with Bill Sutherland and George Willoughby at lunch; right of English to defend themselves; and "NV wouldn't have saved the Jews."

But nothing saved the jews; violence did not save any jews; they almost all died (and violence saved none).

Nor did anyone try to save the Jews, or do what they could.
Not even violence to the ovens at Auschwitz.
Nor trading trucks or medicines (nonviolence!)
Nor expanding quotas (nonviolence!)
Threat of punishment did not work.

I recall Hilberg: wartime conditions were critical. Could it be that self-defense/war was at the expense of the Jews?

What would Niemoller say? Janaki sends me off with Niemoller. Niemoller quote. His "TN pacifism; Heisenberg; about 1950.

Niemoller: yes, of course. (In effect, Jews were hostage; see Hitler quote; and rather than pride ourselves on risking our own lives to save the hostages, we attacked the kidnappers at the clear expense of the hostages' lives!

This undermined my confidence in my rejection of pacifism, justification of violence: if it could be this ill-reasoned...appeared ideological...

(The justification of the Russians and British remains; or the French and Czechs, though they did not fight to the death! (They did sacrifice their Jews) (Were British fighting to save their Jews? A reason, but not their reason). (Could also be argued: if no fighting, no extermination of the Jews: especially if immigration had been accepted elsewhere: another nonviolent alternative). (above all, if the Jews had used NV tactics, visible: both in Germany and elsewhere! See pressure on SU, for example; (suppose there had been a Cold War with Germany!

Debate: van Lierde and Burt Wallrich: could pacifists collaborate with violent revolutionaries? Could they remain in a revolutionary alliance if it began to use violent tactics? (Now the issue is "terrorism"; today, December 13, 1988, Arafat addresses the UN Assembly; this will be an issue. (For many in the audience, terrorism is equated with violence, esp. revolutionary or non-state violence.)

(Note: the purist on this, Wallrich, is the one--along with Janaki--who lost faith totally in pacifism, turned to Maoism.)

I meet Denise Kahn, pianist.
Californians bake bread. Europeans hesitant to share.

Janaki tied up with organizing; I meet Gerhardt.

Duffy: war is almost over. (Not what I heard in Washington: MHH)

Uri Davis: NVR by Arabs, Jews...occupation.

Issues elsewhere in world: Africa,...

I meet Kehler and Jane

Janaki's speech: contradictions: separateness, need for we-ness and opposition, Jones' poem: brilliant moments... (did she show beforehand? Did I hear tape?

Randy's speech: when did he say, only women will be left?

I felt as though my head had split, my heart had broken open; in reality, my life had split in two.

I go to men's room: We are eating our young. (like Sherwood at Hiroshima) It has come to this,....(Cohen: and wasn't it a long way down.) The best thing he can do...is go to prison. My son...born for prison. What could I do if I were willing to go to prison? Am I? VN. The young are the cannon-fodder. (Later, WPB: N can't escalate; the young people won't let him).

Next day: planning: George Lakey, Kehler: plans for Phoenix? what was my contribution?

After Triennial Conference, end August 1969

Workshop at ISNV: Wallrich; Kahn; poem, "Hunters"

Talk to Randy in SF: never mind about VN, expose nuclears

(But MHH information) and Vann: troop withdrawal will be very slow; It's Option C; they will try to do better than LBJ and WWR; Cambodian bombing; threats to SU; "this administration will not leave office without having mined Haiphong" (Pressure from ELK off RMN)

FINISH READING PP: recognize advising President, working within Executive is hopeless; and war was aggressive/imperial/criminal from the start (not just, "by now": as at Ohio)

Talk with Gang of 4: Extrication; (Gurtov, Langer, Kellen, Horelick); they had proposed this in late '67, then staffed it out for Warnke in Alternatives project after Tet Offensive; briefed it to Warnke, but he had not included it in final report (?); then, at my insistence, it was included in our Options study that I took on Christmas Day, but not included in final Ikle/NSC version.

After Mutual Withdrawal was rejected by Hanoi, PRG was announced and recognized by Soviet Union (N took this as rejection of his offer and threat to SU), N ordered HAK to prepare opening to China (MHH learned this by accident: told by Eagleburger? He was cut off from access because of leak on Cambodian bombing; though he didn't know it, his phone was tapped...; he decided to leave, since he wouldn't be regarded as principal deputy (Lynn?) and didn't have full access.

[In retrospect: without MHH, October Group starts work on November option, N/HAK having delivered Nov. 3 ultimatum to Hanoi and SU in August; Lake is told in August; Morris sees nuclear targetting.]

drafting of letter

Bolte letter; reactions of Vance, Johnson, Bolte

Ted Kennedy (but his office demoralized)

Kimberly Rosenberg; Easy Rider

Goodell proposal; we go on

LAT on double agent

Copying

Kimberly falls in love with creep; (I at dinner at Bagdikians)

I tell Carol; invite Mary and Robert (why)

On letter: hsr, Ikle; Steve Roberts (Kraft)

Letter comes out

Response at Rand to letter: TV, Newsweek

Last lunch with Wohlstetters

(Resistance: David Bolduc?)

Advocates program

Invitation to Fulbright; Wolf requests I resign; I refuse.

Oct. 15 Moratorium (Jan Butler, Mary)

Pat arrives, Nov. 2: call from Sam Brown

We go to Washington, watch RMN Nov. 3 speech

Response on hill; draft Resolution; Mondale

Fulbright hearings postponed.

Meet Fulbright; hand him Tonkin Gulf volume, give others to Norvill Jones

Seminar at Berkeley, being considered for heading new school under Aaron Wildavsky (with Pat)

Nov. 15 Moratorium: in SF, see Randy afterwards.

December moratorium cancelled; no pressure on Nixon; see Yarmolinsky on job in East (no prospects); decide to stay at Rand for a while, work on finishing papers for Rand (and copying)

1970

(War Crimes Conference; Vann on Chau flap; Chau leaks with Cook, Richardson; article for New York Times Magazine on Chau; RAND physics division prepares to split, I tell hsr; realize I can't write article; Carol calls (on my birthday?) to say FBI want to talk to her; I call MIT, join; leave RAND, join MIT on April 15? Riot in Harvard Square; stay with Janaki, leave PP with them; Advocates program on Cambodia; Clifford, Ridgeway; To Washington for Advocates program; Cambodian demo in Washington, tear gas; Kent State; Testimony to Fulbright committee; back to RAND, Revolutionary Judo (Wolf-Leites book); Pauker to White House; Rand on postponing elections; (FBI to RAND on me):

13 December 1988

The war was always "just about to end", if not "already over."

After Tet: (Big escalation having just been secretly avoided) (To help avert which, I had leaked the 206,000 request to RFK, and Westy's year=end report and Sam Adams' new order of battle to the NYT)

At Princeton Conference, April 2, 1968, Tom Hayden: "We have ended a war."

(Nixon having secretly decided on threats, warned Soviets:

Spring 1969: war is over, campuses quiet.

August 25, Haverford Conference: War is about to end; President will be pulling out troops. (Peggy Duff, Vo Van Ai, Mark Raskin). (But I had just talked to MHH and Vann!) (Moratorium was really addressed to the speed of the pullout; as was Clifford; really expected N to undercut it by announcing big withdrawal; he didn't, but easily convinced people, by HAK's winks, that he would beat Clifford's schedule; no pressure by Fulbright possible). (I copy Pentagon Papers, give copy to Fulbright)

(Above after Nov. 3, having just secretly avoided major escalation)

(after Cambodia: I leave RAND, testify to Fulbright, expect hearings)

Fall 1970: having pulled out of Cambodia, in face of public outrage in spring, war is no issue in fall elections: "He can't do that again." (WPB at CFR: the kids won't let him). (After raid on North Vietnam, I effectively leave MIT work and go into fulltime organizing to avert coming escalation: Laos...potential invasion of NVN...)

(after Laos,) (I gave PP to NYT, and to McClosky, offer it to McGovern and Mathias, give NSSM-1 to Mathias, in expectation of escalatin; see warning to Oberdorfer, and to "Runnymede")

After Pentagon Papers:

July 15, 1971: HAK trip to China announced, "war is over." Sales of PP plummet, PP go off the evening news and the NYT, Dell seizes excuse to cancel my contract.

Mid-May 1972 (just after March-April offensive, retreat from Hue and Danang, Vann saves Highlands, Haiphong mined):(almost surely, a much bigger escalation, perhaps nuclear, was threatened to Soviets, averted by PAVN halt outside Hue and defeat in Highlands): (I release NSSM-1, expecting Haiphong mining)

Soviets have accepted Summit, despite mining of Haiphong so war is nearing end (Chinese summit earlier); issue leaves election campaign, leaving McGovern without a major issue.

"War is winding down," say networks; (Pat and I use trial press conferences to give bombing statistics, at same rate as ever; I see network anchors to make this point.)

October 1972: (I am campaigning for McGovern, warning of escalation: Hanoi hasn't yet been bombed (MHH) "peace is at hand." Landslide for Nixon, despite four years of war, and Woodward and Bernstein expose of WG and dirty tricks. (Followed by Christmas bombing, biggest in history).

February, 1973: Paris Peace Accords, "war is over." Though Chomsky points out overt determination by Thieu and Nixon to violate accords. bombing of Cambodia continues. Inside SVN, VNese bombing generates refugees at same rate as before. (We try to point this during trial press conferences, and for rest of year; encountering throughout 1973, 1974, 1975 (spring): War is over. ("Well, anyway, the US role is over. Well, the US ground combat role."

April 1973: Thanks to continuation of our trial, leaks by Dean, McCord, then Hunt, et. al, avert renewal of the bombing by HAK and N; and continue to do so; though most of country thinks war is over and there is no possibility whatever of American reentry, let alone escalation.

Late 74-75: The Indochina Peace Campaign lobbies effectively to cut off funding; prevents renewal of bombing or funding when Offensive of 1975 takes place.

At each point of impending escalation I went into high gear and took new actions to avert, usually involving release of new information. (In the case of April 1973, it was the existence of our trial that made it necessary for Nixon finally to release Dean's disclosures to our court). And several of the escalations actually were averted; while Nixon's resignation was critical to making the war endable in 1975.